IV.—ITALIAN PROTOTYPES OF THE MASQUE AND DUMB SHOW.

I. History and Definition of the Word Masque.

As the Italian origin of the Masque has been questioned in the latest and most elaborate investigation of the subject (R. Brotanek, *Die Englischen Maskenspiele*, Wien und Leipzig, 1902), it seems worth while to examine the history of the word and the circumstances of its introduction into English. Brotanek thinks that it came from the French, but it is to be borne in mind in the first place that the form *masque* is not found in sixteenth century English; and in the second place, that the French *masque* has never meant the performance but always the performer or the domino worn. Cotgrave gives *masque* as the synonym for "a maske *for a woman*," but for "maske" without this qualification "*masquerade, masquerie, barboire*," just as he gives for "mummery or mumming" "*mommerie, masquerade, barboire.*" Littré cites only one example of the use in French of *masque* for a form of entertainment, and that is from a modern author, with special reference to the English masques, which are elaborately described. It has hitherto been held that the first use of the word in English in the sense of an entertainment occurs in an entry in the *Liber Numerator. Scacarii* of Henry VIII under date Easter, 1515, quoted by Collier, I, 78, *n*: "Johi Farlyon Custod. Vestuarum sive apparatuum omnium singulorum jocorum larvatorum vocat. Maskes Revelles and Disguysings." But Mr. E. K. Chambers has made it clear in his *Notes on the History of the Revels Office*, just published, that John Farlyon was not appointed yeoman or keeper of the King's vestures or apparel of masks, revels,

and disguisings till 1534,[1] and that Collier's 6 Henry VIII (1515) should be 26 Henry VIII (1535). Similarly the mention of the Palmer's mask, which Brotanek ascribes to 1518, must now be placed after Farlyon's death and the appointment of his successor, Bridges, in 1539, both these events being referred to in the document itself.[2] The first use of the word "maske" that I have found is in the Revels Accounts for 1527,—"6 [yds] for the black maskelers, and 6 for the great maske."[3] The court entertainment of Epiphany, 1512, later described by Hall as "a maske," is stated in the Accounts of that year to have been performed by "12 nobyll personages, inparylled with blew damaske and yelow damaske long gowns and hoods with hats after the maner of meskelyng in Etaly."[4] Another "maskalyne" after the manner of Italy is recorded under date March, 1519,[5] and Collier extracts from "The Kynges boke of payments" one made in December of the same year "opon a warraunt for the revells called a maskelyn."[6] We have also in the Accounts "4 pr. of hosen for the 4 maskellors" (1514), "the meskeler of New Hall," "maskeling gowns and hoods," "meskellyng hood," "meskellyng apparel," to prepare a meskeller," "four gentlemen in blue satin with meskelyn," (all in 1520), "a maskellar held at Greenwich" (1521) afterwards described three times in the same document as a "maskeller," "8 maskeler coats," "18 garments for the maskeller (1522), "a meskeler of 6 gentlemen" (1526).[7] *Mask* seems to come from a Teutonic root meaning

[1] *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII*, arranged and catalogued by J. S. Brewer, vol. VII, p. 560.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. II, pt. II, p. 1517.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. IV, pt. II, p. 1605.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. II, pt. II, p. 1497.

[5] *Ibid.*, vol. III, pt. I, p. 35.

[6] I, 76, *n.*

[7] Vol. I, p. 718; vol. III, pt. II, pp. 1550, 1552, 1556, 1557, 1558; vol. IV, p. 838.

a net, represented in O. E. by *max* (**masc*) and in M. E. by maske (*Prompt. Parv.* maske of a nette, *macula*); in both M. E. and O. F. we have *mascle*, meaning a mesh or stain. It was perhaps through a confusion of native and foreign forms that these various uses arose. Hall, whose Chronicle was first published in 1542, uses in general the term "maske," but he has also "maskery" and "maskeler." Hall calls the performers "maskers," but a letter of 1519 quoted by Ellis uses the phrase "in maskyr." More in 1532 writes "their maskers taken of," and in Thomas's Italian Grammar (1548) masker translates *maschera*. In the face of this diversity of usage it appears impossible to arrive at any conclusion as to the degree of influence exercised by French, Italian, and the older elements of English. But it seems probable that "maske" was preceded by "maskeler" and "maskelyn" as the name of the entertainment, and by "maskyr" for the domino worn.

When we pass from the origin of the word to the origin of the thing we reach surer ground. Brotanek, indeed, contends that the phrase, "after the manner of meskelyng in Etaly," quoted above from the Revels Accounts, refers only to the costumes, and he points out that at similar entertainments in 1510 Turkish, Russian, and Prussian costumes were used. But the Accounts show that in February, 1511, 21¾ yards of blue velvet were used "for bonnets, Milan fashion," and at Christmas of the same year six ladies appeared "in Melen apparel,"[1] so that the Italian costume in 1512 was in itself no novelty; nor does Brotanek's theory explain why the revel held on March 7, 1519, is also called a "maskalyne" *after the manner of Italy*,[2] although the articles furnished include ladies' petticoats of Spanish work. But the really decisive authority

[1] Vol. II, pt. II, pp. 1496–7. [2] *Ibid.*, vol. III, pt. I, p. 35.

on this issue is the fuller description in Hall's chronicle of the entertainment of 1512 referred to in the extract from the Revels Accounts quoted above :—

On the daie of the Epiphanie at night, the kyng with a. XI. other were disguised, after the maner of Italie, called a maske, a thyng not seen afore in Englande, thei were appareled in garmentes long and brode, wrought all with gold, with visers and cappes of gold and after the banket doen, these Maskers came in, with sixe gentlemen disguised in silk bearyng staffe torches, and desired the ladies to daunce, some were content, and some that knewe the fashion of it refused, because it was not a thyng commonly seen. And after thei daunced and commoned together, as the fashion of the Maske is, thei tooke their leave and departed, and so did the Quene, and all the ladies.

In the passage in Holinshed in which this paragraph is reproduced, the words "that knewe the fashion of it" and "because it was not a thyng commonly seen" are omitted, and Brotanek thinks the omission significant. As his explanation is vital to his whole theory of the origin of the Masque, it is only fair to give it in his own words :—

Offenbar empfand er [Holinshed] also den scheinbaren Widerspruch, der zwischen diesen beiden Sätzchen und dem vorausgehenden besteht, und fragte sich : wie sollten die Damen den Brauch bei diesen Unterhaltungen kennen, und wie darf die Aufführung plötzlich als etwas nur Ungewöhnliches bezeichnet werden, wenn es sich eine ganz neue Form handelte—denn so verstand schon er den Ausdruck "*a thyng not seen afore.*"

Wenn wir aber, wie vorgeschlagen, den letzteren Ausdruck einzig auf das Costüm beziehen, die Bemerkung "*not a thyng commonly seen*" dagegen auf die Form der Maskerade, so fällt jeder Widerspruch sogleich hinweg, und die Weigerung einiger Damen erklärt sich folgendermassen: sie wussten von früher her, dass es zum guten Ton (*the fashion of it*) gehört und die Illusion aufrecht erhielt, wenn sie über den ungewöhnlichen Anblick der Vermummten (*a thing not commonly seen*) erschrocken thaten.

Now whatever may have been the motive of the omissions from Holinshed—and such omissions are not unusual in the copying of Abraham Fleming, who supplied the extracts from Hall—it must be said, with all respect to Brotanek,

whose investigation is a thoroughgoing and valuable one, that the English words will not bear the interpretation he places on them. "That knewe the fashion of it" does not mean "dass es zum guten Ton behört," and "because it was not a thyng commonly seen" cannot be explained by a pretended terror of the ladies "über den ungewöhnlichen Anblick der Vermummten."

But why is it necessary to take Hall's words in any other than their obvious meaning? He evidently intended to establish a distinction between the court entertainment of Epiphany, 1512, and preceding entertainments of a similar character. He was not unaware of the general similarity, for immediately preceding the paragraph above quoted we have the following :—

> And against Newyeres night, was made in the halle a Castle, gates, towers, and dungion, garnished with artilerie, and weapon after the moste warlike fashion : and on the frount of the castle, was written *le Fortresse dangerus*, and within the castle were vi. Ladies, clothed in Russet Satin, laide all over with leves of Golde, and evry owde, knit with laces of blewe silke and golde. On their heddes, coyfes, and cappes all of gold.
>
> After this castle had been caried about the hal, and the quene had beheld it, in came the kyng with five other, appareled in coates, the one halfe of russet satyn, spangled with spangels of fine gold, the other halfe riche clothe of gold, on their heddes cappes of russet satin, embroudered with workes of fine golde bullion. These vi. assaulted the castle, the ladies seyng them so lustie and coragious, wer content to solace with them, and upon farther communicacion, to yeld the castle, and so thei came doune and daunced a long space. And after the ladies led the knights into the castle, and then the castle sodainly vanished, out of their sightes.

Hall continues: "On the daie of the Epiphanie at night, the kyng with a. XI. other were disguised, after the maner of Italie, called a maske, a thyng not seen afore in Englande." The obvious meaning is that the maske was "a thyng not seen afore in Englande," and the question arises, what was the novelty which distinguished this maske, in Hall's mind, from the entertainment he had just described? Disguisings, dances in costume with torches and dialogue,

had been known in England from the reign of Edward III, and are abundantly described by Hall himself. It is best to let him tell his own story, in spite of repetition: "These Maskers came in . . . . and desired the ladies to daunce, some were content, and some that knewe the fashion of it refused, because it was not a thyng commonly seen." There seems no difficulty in understanding these lines. The maske was a novelty, although not unknown by hearsay, and because it was "not a thyng commonly seen," *i. e.*, not an established court usage, some ladies declined to take part in it. The phrase "the fashion of it" is sufficiently explained by the sentence: "thei daunced and commoned together, as the fashion of the Maske is." This element of dancing and conversation between the maskers and selected spectators was new,[1] and is regarded by Hall as the characteristic feature of the maske. Thus he says of the eight maskers with white beards at New Hall, Essex, in September, 1519, that "they daunsed with ladies sadly, and communed not with the ladies after the fassion of Maskers." When the Queen plucked off their visors it appeared that they were all "somwhat aged, the youngest man was fiftie at the least. The ladies had good sporte to se these auncient persones Maskers." In the King's Maske, which followed, "every Masker toke a ladie and daunsed: and when they had daunsed and commoned together a great while their visers were taken of, and then the ladies knewe them." So

[1] I am glad to be able to confirm this conclusion by the following extract from an unpublished doctoral thesis by John Chester Adams (May, 1904) in the Yale University Library, to which I had not access at the time the above paper was written:—"A scrupulously careful examination of all the existing evidence on the subject fails to reveal the slightest indication of any earlier masquerade at court in which the maskers, as on this occasion, in Hall's words, 'desired the ladies to daunce,' and 'daunced and commoned together' with them 'as the fashion of the Maske is.'" Dr. Adams and I, on this and other points, have arrived independently at the same conclusions.

Cavendish says in his *Life of Cardinal Wolsey:* "There wanted no dames, nor damoseles, meete or apt to daunce with the maskers."

We arrive then, relying mainly on Hall, at the following definition: "The masque was an evening entertainment in which the chief performers were masked courtiers, accompanied by torchbearers, all in costumes appropriate to the device presented: the elements of song and dialogue were developed later, the original nucleus being dances and conversation with spectators selected by the masquers."

When we consider the slight difference between the masque as thus defined and the earlier English entertainments known as disguisings, it is not surprising that the distinction Hall established should have been lost sight of by his successors. In Holinshed entertainments before 1512, extracted from Hall, are described in the side-notes as "maskes," and the term is even applied to a "mummerie" of 1400. Bacon, summing up the character of Henry VII at the end of his History, writes of him: "In triumphs of justs and tourneys and balls and masks (which they then called disguises) he was rather a princely and gentle spectator than seemed much to be delighted." Jonson in *The Masque of Augurs* (1623) makes Notch say to the Groom of the Revels: "Disguise was the old English word for a masque, sir, before you were an implement belonging to the Revels," and the groom replies: "There is no such word in the office now, I assure you, sir. I have served here, man and boy, a prenticeship or twain, and I should know." In *A Tale of a Tub* (1634), v, i, we have the following:—

Pan. A masque! what's that?
Scri. A mumming or a shew,
With vizards and fine clothes.
Clench. A disguise, neighbour,
Is the true word.

Still, the tradition of the foreign origin of the masque was not entirely lost. Marlowe makes Gaveston say in *Edward II*, I, i: "Music and poetry is his delight; Therefore I'll have Italian masks by night." And in Chapman's *Monsieur d'Olive*, I, i, Rhoderique looks back to the time "when Coaches, when Perwigges, and painting, when Maskes, and Masking: in a word when Court and Courting was unknowne."

II. Early Italian Examples.

If court entertainments of the kind described above were unknown in Italy before the sixteenth century, or if the means of communication between Italy and England at the time were slight, there would be some reason for rejecting the testimony of Hall's Chronicle and the Revels Accounts as to the Italian origin of the Masque. But the means of communication between the two countries were abundant, as every student of the Renascence knows. The travels of Englishmen in Italy are frequently commented upon by the English and Italian writers of the time, and there had been for many years a steady stream of Italians to England. Brotanek himself, following Collier and other authorities, gives a list of Italians employed by Henry VIII, some of them in the preparation and performance of court entertainments. One of these, Leonardo Friscobaldo, gentleman usher of the Chamber, was granted an annuity of fifty marks in January, 1513,[1] and in January, 1515, was paid £247.12.7 for "diverse velwets, and other sylks for the disguysing."[2] Later in the same year Friscobaldo and Antonio Cavalero were employed in the decoration of a pageant to be called "the Pallys Marchallyn."[3] In 1517 there was

[1] *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer, vol. I, p. 479.

[2] Collier, I, 75, *n.*

[3] Brewer, vol. II, pt. II, p. 1503.

also at the English court a musician Masacone, who later returned to Italy and composed a five-part song for the marriage entertainment of Duke Cosimo de' Medici (1539).[1]

The means of communication being admittedly ample, it remains to be proved that entertainments such as are described above had earlier parallels at the Italian courts. The use of the mask at Carnival time was common in Italy from a very early date, and allegorical entertainments or dances in costume, similar in character to the English pageants or disguisings, are found in Italy as early as the fourteenth century, when Uberti included a section *Del modo di triumphare* in his *Dittamondo*. But it is unnecessary to go so far back. Entertainments more nearly contemporary are likelier to have given the suggestion for the English maskes. At the third marriage of Lucrezia Borgia (1501–2), there were elaborate masked dances in costume by torchlight at the Roman court, in which her brother Cesare took part,[2] and at the Carnival of 1501 the Venetian ambassador in vain tried to engage the Pope's attention on the subject of war against the Turks, because the latter was amusing himself by watching the maskers from a balcony (quel stava a un balcon a veder mascare).[3] A day or two later we read: "Si sta a' piaceri di far mascare, e il Papa non dà audientia." In 1503 even Cardinals appeared in masking costume (da mascara) and an allegorical entertainment was given which Burchard thus describes in his diary:—"Post prandium, in prima aula, factum fuit quoddam spectaculum ad instantiam Cucholi calcetarii, quod non erat neque Tragedia, neque Comedia, sed quedam inventiva ad laudem Papae et gloriam suam." Nor did Rome stand alone in these amusements. The Florentines were famous

[1] D'Ancona, *Origini* (second edition), II, 352, *n*.

[2] Gregorovius, *Lucrezia Borgia*, pp. 207–8, and 416–7 (Italian edition).

[3] Sanuto, *Diarii*, quoted by D'Ancona, II, 73.

for them, and the Venetians took their *momarie* with them even as far as Constantinople.[1] At Mantua in 1495 two representations were given at court, in the first of which the Ambassador of the Duke of Calabria appeared gorgeously attired to represent Virtue. The second was done entirely by Messer Zafrano and his family. In the triumphal car of Modesty he had his four children, and the elder daughter recited verses, in Latin and in the vulgar, all in praise of the reigning Marquis. Then the dancing was renewed, and lasted till eight hours after sunset to the great delight of all.[2]

This last entertainment is called a *Farsa*, and the same name is given to one devised by Sannazaro for Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, in 1492, which offers the closest parallel to the English maskes "after the manner of Italy." In the midst of the hall a temple was built with twenty columns, upon which the sign of the cross with the arms of Castile was flown as Mahomet was driven out lamenting the recent victories of the Catholic kings in Granada. Then came Faith, richly dressed and crowned with laurel, celebrating the same, and next Gladness (Letizia) gorgeously clad, with three companions, playing on the viol, cornemuse flute, and rebeck. After a harmonious concord of voices and instruments, Gladness made a speech, concluding thus :—

A balli e canti
Venite tutti quanti :—or giochi e risi.
A che pur state assisi ?—O lieta schiera,
Ecco qui Primavera :—ecco qui fiori,
Ecco soavi adori ;—ecco diletto ;
Ridete voi, e pianga sol Maometto.

"When Gladness had finished her speech, she scattered flowers and sweet herbs, and returned singing into the

[1] Sanuto, *Diarii*, quoted by D'Ancona, II, 124, *n.*

[2] Letter from Johannes de Gonzaga to Isabella d'Este, given in Torraca, *Il teatro italiano dei secoli XIII, XIV, XV*, pp. 326–7.

temple. Thence issued suddenly the trumpets playing, all richly clad after the same fashion, and after the fool, the most illustrious Prince of Capua with the others in masquerade (mumia), delicately clad after the fashion of the Lord of Castile in green and scarlet, with long robes of crimson silk, black bonnets, and their other garments, down to the feet, of damask and beaten gold, scarlet and green, and richly embroidered stockings, dancing with torches in their hands. Then each took a lady by the hand, and danced with her high and low (ballò la sua alta e bassa); and with torches in hand they returned, and so ended the feast for that evening."[1]

Here we have an exact parallel with the English maske —disguised courtiers with torches, who dance with ladies selected from the spectators. In the entrance of the fool we have a prototype of the later English anti-masque.

III. The Intermedii.

In addition to these Representations and Farces, it was the custom, from the very beginning of the regular drama in Italy, to have allegorical dances between the acts. In studying this subject we have not only the invaluable help of D'Ancona, but more recent works by Angelo Solerti (*Le origini del melodramma. Testimonianze dei contemporanei*, 1903. *Gli albori del melodramma*, 1904–6). In both these works he quotes the remark of Giovan Battista Doni that "it has always been the custom to introduce into dramatic performances some kind of song, either in the form of *intermedii* between the acts, or within the act itself in connection with some event represented." Thus the *Orfeo* of Poliziano (1471), which had originally the form of a Sacra Rappresentazione

[1] *Le opere volgari di Sannazaro* (1783), II, pp. 112–121.

or Miracle Play, ended with a kind of Carnival song by the Bacchantes, who carry off the head of Orpheus in triumph. The *Fabula di Caephalo* (1487), has songs and dances at the end of each of its five acts. A Florentine Farsa, attributed by D'Ancona to the end of the fifteenth century, has at the end of each act the direction: *suonasi o cantasi.* When the performance of Latin comedies became a regular feature of court life at Ferrara, these intercalated selections of vocal and instrumental music were elaborated into *intermedii,* in which dances in costume were the chief attraction, especially for spectators of small erudition. Those at the performance of the *Menaechmi* in 1491 are described by the Milanese ambassadors in a letter to their Duke: the first was a Morris dance with torches; the second, Apollo with the Nine Muses, who sang to the accompaniment of the lute; the third, a Morris dance of peasants with implements of labour, with which they beat time to the music. In 1499 there were still more elaborate *intermedii,* presented by 144 performers, all gorgeously attired. When the first Italian comedy, Ariosto's *Cassaria,* was acted in 1508, there were, of course, *intermedii,* and the spectators were especially pleased with a Morris dance of cooks, warmed with wine, wearing pans on which they beat time with wooden sticks. At the performance of Ariosto's second comedy, *Gli Soppositi,* in 1509, a spectator writes: "The *intermedii* were all of songs and music, and at the end of the comedy Vulcan with the Cyclops forged arrows to the sound of fifes, beating time with hammers and with bells attached to their legs, and having finished this business of the arrows with the blowing of bellows, they made a Morris dance with the said hammers."

There were new *intermedii* at the first performance of *I Suppositi* in verse at Rome in 1519, the last being a Morris dance representing the story of Gorgon. Elaborate

intermedii setting forth the myths of Jason, Venus, Neptune, Juno, and Cupid adorned the first representation of Bibbiena's *Calandra* at Urbino in 1513, and at the same time two other comedies were performed of which we know nothing beyond the names of the authors, Nicola Grassi, the Duke's Chancellor, and Guidobaldo Rugiero. But the writer of the MS. (probably the Duke's librarian) gives a full account of one of the *intermedii*, which had the rare distinction of being performed twice. In Grassi's comedy Italy appeared in this *intermedio*, tormented and despoiled by barbarians, and attempted to recite some lamentable verses. Twice, as if in an extremity of sorrow, she stopped in her recitation, and, as if bewildered, went off the stage, giving the spectators the impression that she had lost the power of speech. But in the second performance of this *intermedio* for the comedy of Rugiero, a few days later, as Italy called to her aid the Duke of Urbino, an armed man appeared in a splendid Morris dance, with a drawn sword in his hand, with which he drove away from about Italy the barbarians who had despoiled her. Then he turned to her while a most beautiful Morris dance was played, replaced her crown upon her head, and accompanied her in time to the music off the stage—a most magnificent spectacle. D'Ancona gives (II, 105–6) some of the verses recited by Italy on this occasion, and attributes them to Baldassare Castiglione, who visited the English Court in 1506 to receive the Order of the Garter on behalf of his master, the Duke of Urbino.

The *intermedii* were developed to such an extent that they distracted attention from the play, to the disgust of dramatists and critics. Trissino in his *Poetica* says: "Instead of choruses, there are introduced into the comedies of to-day music and dancing and other things required for *intermedii*, things altogether unconnected with the action of the comedy, and then so many buffoons and jesters are introduced that

they make another comedy, a most inconvenient thing, preventing the appreciation of the meaning of the play." Ingegneri in his *Discorso della Poesia rappresentativa* (1568) writes: "Comedies, however laughter-provoking they may be, are no longer appreciated, unless attention is drawn to them by sumptuous *intermedii* and very expensive shows." Grazzini (Il Lasca) in the Prologue to *La Strega* (1582) says: "There is no doubt that the splendour and beauty of the *intermedii*, which for the most part represent Muses, Nymphs, Loves, Gods, Heroes, and Demigods, injure comedy, and make it appear poor and ugly. . . . They used to make *intermedii* to help out the comedies, but now they make comedies to help out the *intermedii*." In a Madrigal by the same writer comedy complains of the *intermedii*, which were introduced for her adornment, and will soon deprive her of life unless Phœbus comes to her aid:—

La Commedia che si duol degli Intermedii.

Misera, da costor che già trovati
    Fûr per servirmi e per mio ornamento
    Lacerar tutta e consumarmi sento.
Questi empi e scellerati a poco a poco
    Preso han lena e vigore
    E tanto hanno or favore
    Ch'ognun di me si prende scherno e gioco;
    E sol dalla brigata
    S'aspetta e brama e guata
    La maraviglia, ohimè! degli intermedii.
    E se tu non provvedi
    Mi fia tosto da lor tolta la vita;
    Misericordia, Febo, aita, aita!

IV. Relation to English Dumb Shows.

While the dramatists and critics lamented, the public were evidently at least as much interested in the *intermedii* as in the plays. Whether we take the account of the

Milanese ambassadors who were at Ferrara in 1491;[1] or Jano Pencaro's letters to Isabella d'Este Gonzaga in 1499;[2] or Isabella's own letters to her husband in 1502,[3] it is always the *intermedii* that are described at full length and lauded to the skies. When Alfonso Pauluzzo writes to the Duke of Ferrara in 1519 as to the performance of Ariosto's *Suppositi* in Rome, it is the *intermedio* that he singles out as the occasion for telling his master how much superior are the dramatic performances at Ferrara.[4] Now if this was the point of view of the educated Italian of the time, one can imagine what an impression would be made upon a travelling Englishman, by whom the spectacle of the *intermedii* would be much more readily appreciated than the complicated intrigue and witty dialogue of Italian comedy. Indeed in the preface to d'Ambra's *Cofanaria* (1565), acted at Florence with *intermedii* by Giovambattista Cini to celebrate the marriage of Don Francesco de' Medici, Duke of Tuscany, the custom of presenting *intermedii* is especially commended on the ground that it afforded pleasure to foreigners ignorant of Italian.

It will be noted that in what has been said above, the *intermedii* are associated with comedy. Ingegneri, in his *Discorso della poesia rappresentativa*, already quoted from, says that while *intermedii* are not only suitable to comedy, but are a very great ornament to it, in tragedy they can by no means be admitted: for the chorus must not leave the stage, and it is not becoming for an *intermedio* to perform

[1] *Nozze e comedie alla corte di Ferrara nel Febbraio 1491—Archivio storico lombardo*, Serie seconda, vol. I, Anno XI, pp. 751–3.

[2] *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, XI, 177–189.

[3] *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Appendice No. 11, Documenti LXVII–LXXIII.

[4] L'ultimo intermedio fu la moresca, che si representò la *Fabula de Gorgon*, et fu assai bella; ma non in quella perfectione chio ho visto representare in sala de Vostra Signoria.—Notes to *Supposes* in Heath's Belles-Lettres Series, p. 108.

its antics in their presence, seeing that they are grave persons overwhelmed by some national calamity. But this rule was not without exception, for we find that Lodovico Dolce, the Italian tragic writer best known in England,[1] introduced the following *intermedii* into the performance of the *Troiane* in 1566:—(1) discourse of Trojan citizens with the chorus about the national misfortunes; (2) appearance of Pluto and ghosts of slain Trojans; (3) Neptune in the Council of the Gods manifests his joy at the destruction of Troy; (4) appearance of other gods and goddesses, especially Venus and Juno.[2] When Dumb Shows were introduced into the first English tragedy, the authors of *Gorboduc* (1561–2) departed further from the Italian custom[3] by making the allegorical representations precede the various acts and explain the significance of each. A further difference has been sought in the lack of dialogue in the English counterparts of the *intermedii,* but this was not unusual in Italy, and while it is true that the Dumb Shows of *Gorboduc* and *Jocasta* (1566) answered to their name, in *Gismond of Salerne* (1567–8) Cupid and Megaera, who fulfil the same office, have speaking parts.

In connecting the mythological and allegorical figures with the action of the play, as in elaborating the construction of the later Masques, some of which had at least the semblance of a plot, the English dramatists improved upon

[1] Introduction to *Supposes* and *Jocasta u. s.*, p. xxviii. To the evidence there given it may be added that Gabriel Harvey had copies of Dolce's *Medea* and *Thyestes* in his Library. See Todd's *Spenser*, Introduction, p. xviii.

[2] Ferdinando Neri, *La tragedia italiana del Cinquecento*, p. 94.

[3] This again was not without exception. In Alamanni's *Flora* (1556), published in *Teatro italiano antico*, vol. IV, the *intermedii* by Andrea Lori precede the acts, and in this case, as in some others, they are connected with the plot of the play.

their Italian models; but the similarity of the English forms to the earlier Italian entertainments, and the abundant opportunities for contact and imitation leave no doubt as to the fact of their indebtedness, especially when, as in the case of the Masque, it is supported by direct contemporaneous evidence.

JOHN W. CUNLIFFE.